121 the stream, the cattle shed, and the hearth. Furthermore, the participants in
796 this ceremony do all they can to insure that they are in a state of purity,
and that they do nothing to cause a mishap during this particular day.

783 Let us now examine these points in more detail. The requirements of
ritual purity and bodily cleanliness are a *sine qua non* for the performance
of any ceremony. If a man does not approach the gods with the knowledge
that he has done all that he can to be in a pure state, he has little hope that
175 his prayers will be answered. In pre-British days, when the salt had to be
purchased in the plains below, it received special treatment from the mo-
437 ment of purchase onward to insure that it would not become polluted
439 before the ceremony. The men who were to carry the salt up the mountain
783 slopes were not to carry anything else; contact with ordinary foodstuffs
would pollute this particular salt. The annual trading expeditions were
normally timed so as to fall a few weeks before the salt-giving ceremony.
Nowadays a Badaga simply buys his own salt in the town market and
brings it home without special ritual precautions.

231 High in the roof of each cattle shed are shelves on which various dairy
778 articles are stored. The man who brings the salt home is supposed to take it
783 straight to the cattle shed and place it on one of these shelves; he must not
bring it directly into his house, even though he will later have to do so
when the ceremony is about to begin. It is felt that the salt would become
polluted in the house if it were brought into an unpurified room where
sexual activity has occurred. The cattle shed, though not considered a temple
like the Toda dairy, is a pure and sacred place because milk is stored
783 there. When the salt is finally brought into each purified house for powder-
ing, it is whisked around the mortar with the help of a freshly cut twig
796 of wild *'hubbe* (also used for loosening any salt that remains on the bottom
of the basket). The Badagas have two kinds of broom, one for indoor use
(824) and one for outside; but both are considered impure because of what they
have come in contact with, and so cannot be used for sweeping the salt
412 around while it is being powdered. The used part of the *'hubbe* branch is
(783) thrown away after this, and the unused remainder is placed on top of the
salt. From the time of purchase onward, this salt is always carried in a
special basket kept only for this purpose.

783 It is not only the salt that must be kept in a ritually pure state; the
man selected to perform the ceremony on behalf of each household is also
under certain restrictions. From the day of the new moon until after the
salt has been given to the cattle this man must not shave, have sexual re-
lations, cut his finger or toe nails, or stay overnight anywhere other than
in his own home. By observing all these prohibitions he is believed to build
(765) up a state of personal purity. (Were a man to cut his hair and shave, it
would suggest he had recently attended a funeral and was still in the
inauspicious state of mourning for a deceased relative.) The culmination
of this spiritual preparation comes on the night preceding the ceremony,
when he must sleep alone on a sack on the earthen floor, wearing cotton
and without any other bedding.

(356) Early the following morning the house has to be purified too. After the

3: Hockings: E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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956 783 (237) womenfolk have bathed, they clean the house thoroughly, sprinkle the floor with fresh, semi-liquid cowdung (in Indian thinking, a purifier), and then bring a clean supply of water into the house in clean pots. Not until these preliminaries have been completed and the house can also be considered pure is the man allowed to go to the cattle shed and bring the new salt into his house for powdering.

783 796 By the time the representatives of each family are ready to leave their houses, therefore, they have done all that they possibly can to insure that their persons, their homes, and their salt are in a ritually pure condition. From this point onward there is no further attempt to increase their purity; instead the men lavish care on making no inauspicious slip in their movements.

796 (824) (787) This is thought to be a joyful ceremony, and the acts done to promote an auspicious atmosphere are many. Strings of hill mango[9] leaves are hung over the doorways of the houses to indicate that an auspicious ceremony is in progress. As the men prepare to leave their houses with the salt, there are careful precautions to insure that the man from the Great House is the first to step outside; it would be an ill-omened lack of deference should anyone else precede him. He goes and stands on the *'hattane*, the village green, but he is careful to face away from the houses. The other men to perform the ceremony then line up behind him; were the leader to look around it would indicate that he was faltering or turning back from the performance of an auspicious ceremony.

(787) Thus when the man from the Great House feels that it is time to start off toward the stream with his followers, he cannot look behind, but he asks if all of them have come. The reply that the men give must always be "Yes"; again, it would mean an ill-omened delay for them to answer otherwise. If the leader suspects that in fact the party is not yet ready to leave, he may pose his question in an indirect fashion, as for example, "We are proceeding." If some men have still to reach the green, the reply will be a half-assent such as, "You can if you want to." A negative answer should never be given. If everyone necessary is present, on the other hand, someone merely says "Yes."

It is important that nobody, even in casual conversation, use phrases such as "it is finished" or "it is completed," from the time they leave their houses until they return to the hamlet again. This too would be most inauspicious. The logic underlying the proscription, according to one old man, is that "we should not limit, finish, or complete our society."

While en route to the stream the party must never stop; nothing must block them in the performance of such a beneficial ceremony. Should they meet any other group of people, the latter must give way; and if the other group is going to an inauspicious ceremony such as a funeral they should hide out of sight of the salt-bearing party. (This is also true of the return home afterwards.) Throughout this journey the man from the Great House must remain in front of everyone else, and when they reach (576) the stream he must dig his pit first. Deference to him is expressed again

from Burliya:r.

The cure for this ailment should preferably begin on the auspicious days Friday, Sunday or Tuesday. If the need is urgent it can also start on a Monday or a Wednesday; but never a Thursday or Saturday. The curing is done every night for at least three days, and it may continue till the fifth, seventh, ninth or eleventh day from the start. Usually the cure is done twice nightly; but if the case is very serious it will be done three times a night, at about 1900 hrs., midnight, and 0500 hrs. The curing can begin right after sunset, but it is generally started later, after supper. It is done at night because the house must remain closed throughout, including all windows.

When the therapist brings all the medical materials he has collected, he hides them somewhere in the bus nearby rather than bring them straight to the patient's house. These materials must not be brought near children, not because the children are impure, but because some of the plants are probably poisonous and the Indian willow is hallucinogenic.

Before he starts in the evening the women clean the house and sprinkle liquid cowdung on the floor. If there is any meat in the house it should be taken out before the cleaning begins. As the sickness is caused by a god, the people present while it is being treated must be pure. For this reason no women are allowed to stay, except those who ceased menstruation at least 12 years before. No children under 18 are allowed to stay either, "because they may be affected by some bad smell," and contract the disease. None of the men present should smoke during the night either. One of them may be allowed to go into the bathroom and urinate or smoke, but only if his need is great.

Only when all the women and children have left for the night does the therapist go and bring the hidden plants into the house. The door is then shut behind him, and must not be opened again

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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watery medicine over the patient's body. He does not rub the body, but allows the patient to sit by the fire and dry.

It will be recalled that the therapist brought strips of bark from the Indian willow, which were not mixed into the medicine. After completing the treatment the therapist puts one of these long strips around the patient's neck, and two more—one above the elbow and one at the ankle—on the side of the body which is partially paralyzed. These strips are knotted very loosely: for it is permissible for them to fall off, provided they do so of their own accord and not because someone takes them off.

When his tongue cannot move it is because the Big Wind struck him there. The compress is then dabbed all over the body in the usual manner, but a liquid medicine is given the patient too (unless the dabbing of his body loosens his tongue). This medicine is the juice of the St. John's wort. It is obtained by slashing the bark and waiting a day or two for the juice to exude. It is then drunk diluted with a little hot water.

It is now alright for the patient to have coffee if he wants it. Then he lies down and is covered with several rugs. He is only wearing a loin-cloth, except that in a very serious case he will still be wearing the wet cloth on which the medicine has been dabbed.

The patient then sleeps. In the early morning the therapist orders the people present to clean the house and sprinkle liquid cowdung on the floor before the door is opened. Just before the cleaning starts he takes the pot of medicine upstairs and leaves it there. No women or children should go upstairs while it is there. After the purification of the house the therapist opens the door and goes out onto the yard to pray. Only after he has returned to the house are other members of the family allowed to go outside too. Before they

177 For the past 40 years Dipāvali, and for the past 20 Kārtige, have been
796 celebrated in many Badaga hamlets. Both are annual festivals adopted from the culture of the Tamilnād plains. Dassara, which has always been the biggest annual celebration in Mysore City, has also been celebrated by Badagas for the past 25 years. All of these festivals are celebrated in a very attenuated form in the Badaga hamlets.

796 Dipāvali, the day on which Kriśna destroyed the demon Narakasura, is given little importance by the Badagas, for they perform no rituals at this time. A minority of the people wear new dresses on this date; but otherwise they do not perform so much as a puja in Kriśna's honor. Kārtige extends over two days in November or December, but only the first of these, dedicated to Śiva, assumes any importance. All the houses carry lights on that day and throughout the following night; but on the second day, dedicated to Viśnu, very few lights remain burning. During the first evening the village priest does a puja in the temple, and most of the villagers attend this ceremony. Dassara, like Kārtige and Dipāvali, is celebrated on a small scale when compared with the main indigenous Badaga festivals (at sowing and harvest-time)

(782) (cf. Karl 1945: 12-20). Although Dassara is universally supposed to last for ten days, it is only on the evening of the ninth that the Badagas do any kind of celebration, and this is a simple puja done to images or lithographs of gods that are kept in the houses. Some Badagas do an additional puja on this occasion to bring blessings upon agricultural implements, and even on school books.

177 Kārtige is followed by the month of Mārgaṭi (December to January), which
788 is the most inauspicious month in the Dravidian calendar. During the past 30 or 40 years, therefore, some Badagas have adopted the Tamilian practice of doing a puja every day of that month. Early each morning a group of men goes along every street

788 (556) of their hamlet singing bhajan songs about the gods Śiva and Viśnu. Before the daily

tour of the singers, the women clean out the houses, place auspicious markings outside the doorways, and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the bhajan group has passed by. Many hamlets have adopted this practice. They conclude the unlucky month by holding a big communal feast attended by the entire hamlet.

In summary, whether we consider the organization of Kārtige, Mārgaṭi, Dīpāvali or Dassara, we find that the borrowed festival is not celebrated by the entire Badaga population, there is some local variation in the way in which it is celebrated, those who do celebrate the festival still show much less enthusiasm for it than for native Badaga festivals; and finally, Badagas show much less enthusiasm for these festivals than do the Tamilians and Mysoreans now living in the Nilgiris.

4) Since 1913 important developments have occurred in the Badaga Christian community. From the earliest years of the present century, according to the missionary reports, the Christian community has been recognized by the Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns for interaction between the Christians and Hindus have been formalized. During the period 1913-1947 the Hindu Badagas, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on the economy and the labor market which was ultimately controlled by the British. As a result of this the former acts of violence toward Badaga Christians ceased: as many Hindu Badagas now found it desirable to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British, they could not simultaneously be openly antagonistic toward the religion of the British.

After the Christians had become a separate social group, Roman Catholic priests became active -- mainly in converting Protestant Badagas -- and thereby split the Christians into two culturally very similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic attitude not only toward the other

857 during festive occasions. Badaga woman frequently, sometimes daily,
796 wash over sections fronting their houses with cowdung solution to keep
535 the courtyards flattened out and cleansed. Low earthen or stone walls
• 956 edging courtyards define property limits and add to the privacy of
house inhabitants living within house-rows immediately below. Badaga
351 women sometimes store firewood or keep flower gardens on the wall tops,
but they are usually grass covered.

Separate shrines and temples stand in communities or on grassy
368 plots outside. Some Badagas own storage huts where agricultural
implements, fertilizer, seed-potatoes, and agricultural produce are
366 stored. Small coffee, tea, and supply shops are increasing in number
within Badaga villages. Hot beverages, as well as hotmeats, sweetmeats,
rice, and curry, are served in the coffee and tea shops. From supply
shops are obtained cigarettes, matches, grains, pulses, and vegetables.
Areca nut, betel leaf, lime, and perhaps tobacco, which are combined
and chewed, are also sold. Blacksmiths, building and supply contrac-
tors, carpenters, jewellers, and other entrepreneurs have established
368 businesses in Badaga villages. A single government office, or combin-
ation of offices such as panchayat, police, post, and telegraph offices
may also be present. Church or government schools are now located in
or near many communities.

Hamlets and villages still have circular cattle-pens built in
231 natural depressions or enclosed with stone walls, but cattle-hut con-
[361] struction is slowly leading to abandonment of the pens. Goats and
sheep are kept at night on raised platforms within goat- and sheep-
(654) huts. Monetary inducements offered by the Madras Government have

located across from the latter door. At the right of each entranceway there was a low porch and to the left a low porch and small stall, or a stall only. Buffalo calves were sheltered in each stall. The entranceway and features to right or left of it were protected by the single side-gabled roof covering all houses within the row.

By 1870 some houses were whitewashed; by 1880 whitewashing was a more widespread practice and house roofs were being tiled; by 1895 sleeping platforms made from broad and thick planks were replacing interior storage platforms; and by 1935 most Badaga houses had brick or stone walls, tiled roofs, and sleeping platforms (Shortt 1868: 58; Grigg et al. 1880: 225; Sastri 1892: 757; Ranga 1934: 5). However, despite these and other changes, the Badaga house type as described by Jagor and others remains essentially the same (Figure 18). Most houses now have whitewashed brick walls, and roofs are commonly made with sawn timbers, corrugated iron sheets, and tiles. Front entranceways may be located to the right or left. If there is a right entranceway, a sleeping platform replacing the storage platform mentioned by Jagor will be against the right wall of the front room. A mortar in the floor and rotary quern (usually present) will be near the wall on the opposite side, and all other features within the house will be arranged accordingly. If there is a left entranceway, a sleeping platform will be against the left wall, mortar and rotary quern will be near the wall on the opposite side, and all other interior features will accordingly be reversed from left to right. The room for bathing (himbara) no longer runs all the way across the back, but is located behind the front room (ithamanai). The open doorway

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127]

1. The Badagas

361 [103] [137] Occupance patterns. The Badaga communities of Basukolli, Devala, Kolapalli, Marakarai, Mundhatti, Pandalur, and Soladi are scattered over the Nilgiri Wynaad (Figure 2). They lie in sections with deciduous forest remnants and patches covered by bamboo thickets. The tendency for Badagas to live in nucleated communities according to ancestral custom is in the Wynaad opposed by the tendency for people to scatter over the landscape according to Malabarian custom. As a result, at one community members live in a hamlet, at another some live in a hamlet while others own houses dispersed over the nearby landscape, and at a third all Badagas dwell in dispersed houses within the area covered by the community. To cite specific examples, Marakarai has a hamlet, Devala has a hamlet and dispersed houses, and all Soladi houses are dispersed. Nucleated development follows three steps: 1) a single house is or a few joined houses are first constructed next to a courtyard, 2) a new house is then positioned adjacent to the courtyard and approximately vertical to an antecedent house, and 3) another house is built on the other side of the courtyard and approximately parallel to the previously constructed house (Figure 22). Figuratively, development leads to change from a straight line to an L-shaped to a U-shaped house arrangement. Single dispersed houses are also fronted by courtyards. The growing of at least one sacred tulasi plant within a small rectangular enclosure on each courtyard is a distinctive Badaga cultural trait. Frequent sweepings with a cowdung solution over courtyards, ground surrounding houses,

241 778 351 356

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351 and house floors is not only an ancient Hindu custom, but a useful
356 one in that it helps keep termites away.

243 Rice is everywhere the predominant food crop, and wet rice production is concentrated in broad valley bottoms (Plate XII, A). As a result, valley sides are seldom terraced. All Badaga houses, 361 whether they be within nucleated centers or scattered around, are located on hillsides or hilltops next to lower-lying wet rice fields. Women thus have to fetch water from streams in the valleys below. (343) Occasionally, small huts or shelters (pandals) for storage or work are erected near houses. Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas do not build temples 368 in house-rows, but do construct temples in separate worship centers with pagoda trees. After the single wet rice harvest, buffaloes and 231 a few cattle are kept at night in periodically shifted circular bamboo pens erected on dried fields. While rice is growing, the same livestock are housed nightly in huts with no set form located at some distance from dwellings. Threshing floors and stacked hay lie near 241 dwellings. Most houses are surrounded by multilayer gardens which offer cooling shade during each dry season and protection against torrential rain with high winds during the rainy monsoon seasons. Close to houses there may also be small kitchen gardens or single layer gardens. Scattered dry fields on hills are located near or at 231 some distance from houses. Livestock (goats and sheep were not seen by me) are grazed on 1) rice stubble left after each rice harvest, 2) grasses growing over dry fields untilled for some time, 3) grasses within nearby degenerate dry and moist deciduous forest or bamboo 368 thickets, and 4) savannas. In the area associated with each community